

Message Text

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 2857

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, NAC

SUBJ: NATO SUMMIT DECLARATION: NEW DRAFT

REF: A. USNATO 2831; B. STATE 115932; C. USNATO 2773;

D. STATE 102557

ANAKARA PLEASE PASS TO COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT & ASST. SECRETARY
HARTMAN

SUMMARY: SEEKING TO DEVISE A COMMON BASIS FOR MOVING AHEAD
WITH DEVELOPMENT OF SUMMIT DECLARATION/COMMUNIQUE, IN EXTENDED
MAY 21 MEETING SPC DEVELOPED FRESH DRAFT, DRAWING UPON ELEMENTS
CONTAINED IN EARLIER DRAFTS. WHILE MANY DELEGATIONS ARE NOT
ENTIRELY SATISFIED WITH ALL ASPECTS OF NEW DRAFT, ALL HAVE AGREED
TO REFER TO TO CAPITALS FOR COMMENT. DRAFT, TOGETHER WITH MISSION
COMMENTS, FOLLOWS IN PARA 6 BELOW. END SUMMARY.

1. IN WAKE OF MAY 20 SPC DISCUSSION, THE INTERNATIONAL STAFF
CIRCULATED LIST OF "BUILDING BLOCKS" DRAWN FROM EARLIER DRAFTS
OF DECLARATION WHICH SPC HAD AGREED TO USE AS BASIS FOR CONTINUED
WORK. HOWEVER, AT MORNING NAC MEETING, SYG LUNS SURVEYED THE CON-
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TINUING DISARRAY, SAID THE SPC WAS MOVING BACKWARD, REQUESTED
A/SYG KASTL TO ISSUE A SINGLE DRAFT BASED ON THE "BUILDING BLOCKS",
AND APPEALED TO DELEGATIONS TO GET MOVING ON A COMPROMISE.

2. THE IS CIRCULATED MAY 21 A PROPOSED COMPROMISE DRAFT, INFLUENCED, WE BELIEVE, BY SHARP WARNINGS FROM THE U.S. DELEGATION THAT WE WOULD NOT WORK ON THE BASIS OF A SLIGHTLY ALTERED BELGIAN DRAFT WHICH WE KNEW THE IS HAD EARLIER PREPARED AND CONSIDERED CIRCULATING. THE NEW IS DRAFT, WHILE DEFECTIVE IN TERMS OF U.S. OBJECTIVES, WAS IN OUR VIEW AN ADEQUATE STARTING POINT, ESPECIALLY SINCE MOST SPC MEMBERS IN EARLIER MEETINGS HAD CONTINUED TO FAVOR THE NON-CONTENTIOUS FUZZ OF THE BELGIAN DRAFT. IN ANY EVENT, THE SPC COMPLETELY REWROTE THE IS DRAFT DURING AN EIGHT-HOUR SESSION WHICH CONCLUDED IN THE EARLY MORNING MAY 22.

3. U.S. REP (PEREZ) PRESSED THROUGHOUT THIS SESSION FOR INCLUSION OF ALL SIGNIFICANT PASSAGES WASHINGTON PROPOSED IN THE ORIGINAL U.S. DRAFT (REF D) AND U.S. COMMENTS ON THE UK/LOGAN DRAFT (REFB). WHILE NOT ALL LANGUAGE WE WANTED WAS INCLUDED BECAUSE OF THE ADAMANT INSTRUCTIONS OF SOME SPC MEMBERS, THE EXERCISE WAS USEFUL IN PROTECTING BASIC U.S. CONCEPTS, WHICH A NUMBER OF REPS OPPOSED. BY CONSISTENTLY PRESSING U.S. PROPOSALS AGAINST THE IS DRAFT, WE WERE ALSO ABLE TO DRIVE OUT SOME OF THE WORST PASSAGES RETAINED FROM THE BELGIAN DRAFT. MOREOVER, THIS SESSION BROKE THE PREVIOUSLY FIRM COMMITMENT OF THE FRENCH, BELGIAN, AND NETHERLANDS REPS, SUPPORTED BY THE GREEK TURK, NORWEGIAN, AND OTHERS, TO THE BELGIAN TEXT.

4. AT THE INSISTENCE OF PEREZ, SUPPORTED BY KASTL, THIS TEXT IS CURRENTLY WITHOUT BRACKETS WHICH NUMBER OF REPS WANTED TO PLACE AROUND PASSAGES WE WANTED AND THEY OPPOSED. DESPITE FEELING ON PART OF SEVERAL REPS THAT THEIR AUTHORITIES MIGHT DISLIKE VARIOUS PORTIONS OF NEW DRAFT, ALL AGREED TO RESERVE THEIR POSITIONS AND REFER DRAFT TO CAPITALS FOR COMMENT. SPC PLANS TO RETURN TO THIS DRAFT AFTERNOON OF MAY 23.

5. WE CONSIDER THIS DRAFT A SIGNIFICANT ADVANCE. WHILE NOT AN AGREED TEXT, IT CONTAINS THE KEY ELEMENTS OF THE IS AND UK(LOGAN) DRAFTS THAT WE WERE INSTRUCTED TO PRESERVE. IT IS BRIEF, AND WE WILL TRY TO MAKE IT CRISPER. AN ADDITIONAL MERIT IS ITS OUTWARD-SECRET

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LOOKING CHARACTER, IN WHICH WORLDWIDE PROBLEMS AND ALLIANCE RESPONSIBILITIES ARE RECOGNIZED, IN CONTRAST TO MORE PAROCHIAL STATEMENTS WE HAVE COME TO EXPECT IN NATO COMMUNIQUE. FINALLY, WE BELIEVE IT CAN COMMAND EARLY MAJORITY SUPPORT, ALLOWING SPC TO COMPLETE THE TEXT, HOPEFULLY THIS WEEK OR EARLY NEXT. ACTION REQUESTED BY OPENING OF BUSINESS MAY 23: A) AUTHORIZATION TO SUPPORT TEXT AS BASIS FOR FURTHER DRAFTING; AND B) CHANGES DEPARTMENT CONSIDERS NECESSARY.

6. BEGIN TEXT OF NEW DRAFT:

"1. THE SPRING MINISTERIAL MEETING OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC COUNCIL WAS HELD IN BRUSSELS ON 29TH AND 30TH MAY, 1975 WITH

THE PARTICIPATION OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENTS.

"2. THE ALLIES ANALYZED DEVELOPMENTS SINCE THE OTTAWA DECLARATION ON ATLANTIC RELATIONS WAS SIGNED IN BRUSSELS ON 26TH JUNE, 1974. THEY WERE STRENGTHENED IN THEIR RESOLVE TO PRESERVE THEIR SOLIDARITY AND TO STRIVE TO RESTORE IT WHERE IMPAIRED. THE ALLIES REAFFIRM THAT THE ESSENTIAL PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE IS TO SAFEGUARD THE INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY OF ITS MEMBERS AND TO MAKE POSSIBLE THE CREATION OF A LASTING STRUCTURE OF PEACE."

(MISSION COMMENT)

-- SECOND SENTENCE, PARA 2: WE MADE STRONG PITCH FOR INCLUSION OF LANGUAGE ON "DISPUTES" FROM ORIGINAL U.S. DRAFT (REF D). GREEK AND TURK REFUSED TO INCLUDE ANY DIRECT REF TO DISPUTES. AGAINST OPPOSITION OF TURK WE PREVAILED IN RETAINING REFERENCE FROM BELGIAN DRAFT TO RESTORING SOLIDARITY WHERE IMPAIRED.

-- THIRD SENTENCE, PARA 2: DUTCH, SUPPORTED BY NORWEGIAN, WANTED TO BEGIN THIS SENTENCE WITH REF TO DETENTE, AN EFFORT WE BEAT BACK WITH HELP FROM FRG AND UK. WE PRESSED FOR INCLUSION OF THREE ITEMS ON ACHIEVEMENTS DURING 26-YEAR SPAN OF ALLIANCE PROPOSED AT BEGINNING OF REF D. THERE WAS NO SUPPORT. CANADIAN AND KASTL OPPOSED OUR SUGGESTION AS REPETITIVE AND WEAKENING OTTAWA DECLARATION LANGUAGE. GREEK STRONGLY OBJECTED TO SAYING "NONE HAS BEEN VICTIM OF ARMED ATTACK". WE SUCCEEDED IN GETTING CONCEPT OF MAINTAINING "INDEPENDENCE AND SECURITY OF ITS MEMBERS" INTO THIRD SENTENCE, PARA 2. (END COMMENT)

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CONTINUE TEXT OF NEW DRAFT:

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"3. IN PURSUIT OF THIS PURPOSE, THE ALLIES ARE CONFRONTED WITH SERIOUS CHALLENGES. THE ARMED FORCES OF THE WARSAW PACT CONTINUE TO GROW IN STRENGTH BEYOND ITS DEFENSIVE NEEDS.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE MAINTENANCE OF A SATISFACTORY ALLIED DEFENCE EFFORT ENCOUNTERS NEW DIFFICULTIES ARISING FROM WORLDWIDE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. THE ALLIES ARE RESOLVED TO FACE THESE CHALLENGES TOGETHER AND WITH DETERMINATION."

-- FIRST SENTENCE: REFERENCE TO CHALLENGES WAS INCLUDED AT OUR INSISTENCE, AGAINST SOME SKEPTR AND OPPOSITION, ON BASIS THAT DELCARATION MUST INCLUDE PASSAGE ON CHALLENGES TO ALLIANCE.

--SECOND SENTENCE: DUTCH STRONGLY OBJECTED TO INCLUSION OF THIS SENTENCE. WE PRESSED FOR ORIGINAL U.S. LANGUAGE: "THE ARMED FORCES OF POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES HAVE BEEN INCREASED AND IMPROVED, GIVING RISE TO QUESTIONS OF PURPOSE AND INTENT." FRENCH, NORWEGIAN AND DANISH REPS OBJECTED. PORTUGUESE SPOKE UP, FOR ONLY TIME, SAYING HE COULD NOT ACCEPT LANGUAGE WE PROPOSED. NUMBER OF REPS DISLIKED REFERENCE TO POTENTIAL ADVERSARIES AND QUESTIONING INTENT. SENTENCE WHICH FINALLY RESULTED IS COM-
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PROMISE WHICH SOME REPS STILL WANTED TO BRACKET.

-- WE TRIED TO INSERT REFERENCE TO ENERGY PROBLEMS AND TO DISPUTES INTO THIS PARA. DUTCH AND FRENCH SAID THEIR AUTHORITIES COULD NOT ACCEPT "ENERGY". GREEK AND TURK AGAIN OBJECTED TO "DISPUTES".

CONTINUE TEXT OF NEW DRAFT:

"4. THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY PROVIDED BY THE ALLIANCE, ON THE BASIS OF A CREDIBLE CAPACITY TO DETER AND DEFEND, IS A STABILIZING FACTOR, BENEFICIAL TO INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AS A WHOLE, AND INDEED A CONDITION OF PEACE. IN A TROUBLED WORLD SUBJECT TO RAPID TRANSFORMATION THE ALLIES REAFFIRM THAT THE SECURITY OF EPEACE IS OF VITAL CONCERN TO ALL. IT CONTINUES TO BE THEIR DUTY, NOT ONLY TO THEMSELVES BUT TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, TO STAND BY THE PRINCIPLES, AND THE SPIRIT OF SOLIDARITY AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE WHICH BROUGHT THEM TOGETHER AS ALLIES. ACCORDINGLY THE ALLIES STRESS THEIR COMMITMENT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY, AND IN PARTICULAR ARTICLE 5, WHICH PROVIDES FOR COMMON DEFENCE."

(MISSION COMMENT)

--FIRST SENTENCE: FRENCH AND BELGIAN REPS WANTED "STABILIZING FACTOR" WHICH THEY CLAIMED HAD A PRECEDENT IN ALLIED LANGUAGE. PICKING UP WASHINGTON'S POINT IN PARA 3 REF B, WE INSISTED ON LINK TO PRESERVATION AND STRENGTHENING OF PEACE. SENTENCE THAT EMERGED IS RESULT OF EXTENSIVE HAGGLING AND COMPROMISE. WE BELIEVE IT MEETS WASHINGTON'S POINT.

--THIRD SENTENCE: WORDS "MUTUAL ASSISTANCE" DRAWN FROM ARTICLE 3 OF NAT APPEAR ON INSISTENCE OF TURK.

--FOURTH SENTENCE: AGAINST NUMEROUS OBJECTIONS, WE PRESSED FOR UNEQUIVOCAL COMMITMENT TO NAT "AND, IN PARTICULAR, ARTICLE 5 RELATING TO THE ALLIED RESPONSE TO ARMED ATTACK". UK AND FRG WERE HELPFUL IN ACHIEVING COMPROMISE SENTENCE DESPITE STRONG OBJECTIONS OF DUTCH. TURK COMPLICATED EFFORT BY STUBBORN INSISTENCE ON REFERENCE IN THIS SENTENCE ALSO TO ARTICLE 3.
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TURK RELENTED IN EARLY MORNING ONLY AFTER OTHER REPS CHARGED WITH EXASPERATION THAT TURK ONLY ONE PRESENT WHO HAD SHOWN NO WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE. (END COMMENT)

CONTINUE TEXT OF NEW DRAFT:

"5. THE SECURITY AFFORDED BY THE TREATY ENABLES THE ALLIES TO PURSUE POLICIES REFLECTING THEIR DESIRE THAT UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION SHOULD PREVAIL OVER CONFRONTATION. THEY HOPE THAT PROGRESS ALONG THIS ROAD CAN BE ACHIEVED BY THE SATISFACTORY CONCLUSION IN THE NEAR FUTURE OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND CO-OPERATION IN EUROPE AND BY THE TRANSLATION OF ITS WORDS INTO DEEDS. THE DEVELOPMENT OF UNDERSTANDING AND CO-OPERATION ALSO REQUIRES A REDUCTION IN THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION ON THE EUROPEAN CONTINENT IN A MANNER WHICH WILL PRESERVE SECURITY FOR ALL."

(MISSION COMM)

--FIRST SENTENCE: LANGUAGE HERE MAKES CLEAR THAT SECURITY IS BASIS FOR DETENTE.

--SECOND SENTENCE: THROUGHOUT DISCUSSION OF CSCE WE ADVOCATED WASHINGTON LANGUAGE, I.E., "MUST INCLUDE A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION" TO CSCE AND "DEEDS WHICH WILL PROVIDE GREATER FREEDOM, PROSPERITY, DIGNITY AND SECURITY FOR ALL PEOPLE IN EUROPE." OTHER REPS WERE NOT PREPARED TO ACCEPT "MUST", BUT BY PRESSING IT WE GOT THEM TO GIVE UP WEAK, CONDITIONAL SENTENCE WITH "IF". OTHER REPS INSISTED ON "SATISFACTORY" INSTEAD OF "SUCCESSFUL" AS STANDARD ALLIED TERM. OTHERS ACCEPTED "WORDS INTO DEEDS", BUT THERE WAS NO SUPPORT AND CONSIDERABLE OPPOSITION FOR CONCLUDING PHRASE WE WANTED TO ADD.

11THIRD SENTENCE: THIS VAGUE REFERENCE TO MBFR REPRESENTS

DILIGENT EFFORT BY FRENCH REP TO COME UP WITH LANGUAGE PARIS MIGHT POSSIBLY ACCEPT. FRENCH REP AGREED TO REQUEST OF SEVERAL SPC MEMBERS THAT EFFORT BE MADE TO AVOID CUMBERSOME MBFR FORMULATION AND TO TRY FOR SIMPLE PASSAGE ACCEPTABLE TO ALL 15 ALLIES. SOME REPS DOUBTED THAT REFERENCE TO MBFR WAS SUFFICIENTLY DIRECT IN SENTENCE THAT EMERGED.
(END COMMENT)

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CONTINUE TEXT OF NEW DRAFT:

"6. THE PEOPLES OF THE ALLIANCE SHARE THE UNIVERSAL ASPIRATION FOR LIBERTY, JUSTICE AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. IT IS THEIR DESIRE THAT THROUGH CONCERTED EFFORTS THERE SHOULD EMERGE AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER WHICH REFLECTS THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REALITIES OF OUR TIME. THEY STAND READY TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY ON GLOBAL PROBLEMS SUCH AS THOSE OF FOOD, ENERGY, POPULATION AND ENVIRONMENT. THE FUTURE OF MANKIND DEPENDS ON SUCCESS IN THESE COMMON TASKS."

(MISSION COMMENT)

--SECOND SENTENCE: WE PRESSED FOR WASHINGTON'S FIX IN PARA 3 REF B, I.E., "DESIRE TO CONTRIBUTE, THROUGH THEIR JOINT EFFORTS AS ALLIES, TO AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER", ETC. BELGIAN, FRENCH AND DUTCH OPPOSED THIS CHANGE WHICH THEY SAID UNDERCUT MEANING THEY WISHED TO CONVEY AND INDICATED ALLIES WOULD ACT AS BLOCIN DEALING WITH ISSUES OUTSIDE NATO COMPETENCE.

--THIRD SENTENCE: OUR EFFORT TO USE PHRASE "TO SUPPORT ONE ANOTHER AND COOPERATE" IN PLACE OF "TO COOPERATE WITH THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY" AGAIN RAN INTO STRONG OPPOSITION OF FRENCH AND DUTCH, WHO WERE SUPPORTED BY SEVERAL OTHER REPS.

--FOURTH SENTENCE: THIS IS LANGUAGE DRAWN FROM ORIGINAL U.S. PROPOSAL. (END COMMENT)

CONTINUE TEXT OF NEW DRAFT:

"7. ALLIED LEADERS MEETING IN COUNCIL EXPRESSED THEIR UNANIMOUS CONVICTION THAT THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY AND FREEDOM IS CLOSELY LINKED TO THE FUTURE OF THOSE COUNTRIES WHICH HAVE INHERITED THESE IDEALS AND WHICH CONSTANTLY STRIVE FOR THEIR ADVANCEMENT AND ADOPTION THROUGHOUT THE WORLD." END TEXT OF NEW DRAFT.

(MISSION COMMENT)

--THIS CONCLUDING PARA EMERGED IN THE EARLY MORNING WHEN THE
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FRENCH REP SEEMED TO GET HIS SECOND WIND. WE WILL SEEK TO
IMPROVE THIS LANGUAGE AT NEXT SPC MEETING.BRUCE

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